

# APPENDIX

TO THE

## LONDON MAGAZINE.

MDCCLXIII.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the  
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 592.

*The next that spoke in the Debate begun in our Magazine for November last, was M. Cato, in the Character of the Earl of Bath, whose Speech was to this Effect.*

*My Lords,*



As the supporting the Queen of Hungary, and endeavouring to form a Confederacy upon the Continent in her Favour, was not only approved of, but loudly and generally called for by the People of this Kingdom, and as it was certainly, and still is right for us to do so, the sending a large Body of our Troops abroad for that Purpose, was a Measure approved of by all those of his Majesty's Council: It was not a Measure directed by any one sole Minister, or by any one or two of his Majesty's Council, but approved

of by all; and that Approbation was not a silent or tacit Concurrence: It was expressly approved of: It was highly applauded: It was thought absolutely necessary by all; and when it was first resolved on, it seemed to be the unanimous Voice of the Nation. What new Light some amongst us may have since got, I do not know; but this I am convinced of, that if no Troops had been sent abroad: If no vigorous Measures had been taken for supporting that Princess, in a more effectual Manner than we had till then done, all the Misfortunes, all the Distresses which might have been brought upon the House of Austria, upon Europe, or upon this Nation, would have been imputed to the Pusillanimity of our Conduct.

This, I say, my Lords, would, I am convinced, have been the Consequence of our having sent none of our Troops abroad. It would

have been said, that the *Dutch*, that most of the Princes of *Germany* were sensible of the Danger they were exposed to, but were overawed by the Armies of *France*, because they saw they could expect no Protection from this Nation; whereas if we had sent an Army to the Continent, and thereby shewn, that we were resolved and ready to protect them, they would have resumed their former Conduct, and would have joined with us in the Defence of the common Cause. These Complaints, this Method of arguing, our Government has prevented by the vigorous Measures it has taken; and when we consider the good Effects those Measures have already produced, I am surprised to hear them found fault with.

We all know, my Lords, what a distressed Condition the Queen of *Hungary* was in, what a dangerous State the Affairs of *Europe* were in at the Beginning of last Summer. That great Princess had supported herself to Admiration: Her Troops had signalized themselves for their Bravery, her Subjects for their Fidelity; but deserted as she was by all her Friends, and attacked by such numerous and powerful Enemies, it was impossible for her to resist much longer, attacked upon one Side by numerous Armies of *Prussians* and *Saxons*, upon the other by more numerous Armies of *French* and *Bavarians*, and in *Italy* by the combined Armies of *Spain* and *Sicily*: The *Dutch* overawed by *French* Armies round its Frontier, *Hanover* forced into a Neutrality by a *French* Army at one of its Gates, and a *Prussian* at the other: *Muscovy* attack'd by the whole Force of *Sweden*, supported by the Treasures of *France*; and *Sardinia* not daring to act according to his Inclinations: The Friends of publick Liberty upon the Continent all terrified into a shameful Inactivity, or openly at-

tack'd, and its Enemies every where triumphant. In these desperate Circumstances were the Affairs of *Europe*, when by a lucky Change this Nation began to resume its antient Spirit. Upon the very first Revival of this Spirit, the *Dutch* resolved upon an Augmentation of their Troops; in a few Months after, the Kings of *Prussia* and *Poland* were, by the Interposition and Mediation of our Ministers, drawn off from their Alliance with the Enemies of publick Liberty, the King of *Sardinia* was induced to declare openly against them, and the King of the two *Sicilies* was glad to withdraw his Troops from those of his Father, the King of *Spain*, in order to purchase a Neutrality.

These, my Lords, are the happy Effects of the vigorous Measures lately taken by this Nation, and particularly of that of sending a Body of our Troops to the Continent. Tho' those Troops have not yet begun to act, yet they have produced a very good Effect. As *France* did not know how soon they might begin to act, nor how soon they might be joined by the Armies of *Holland*, she was obliged to keep most of her Armies at home, instead of sending them into *Germany*: By this Means we have prevented the Queen of *Hungary* from being overwhelmed with Numbers; and as soon as her Armies came to be upon some Sort of Equality with those of the Enemy, they began to triumph by their superior Bravery and Conduct. What the Event may be, Time only can discover; but hitherto it must be allowed, that our late Conduct has given a most fortunate Turn to the Affairs of *Europe*, and a Turn which the most sanguine amongst us could not have expected twelve Months ago; therefore I now little expected to have heard any Objection made to a Measure which has already produced such extraordinary Effects, and such



such as must be agreeable to every Man who has a Regard for his Country.

I cannot comprehend what the noble Lords would have us do, or what Measures they would have us pursue. Would they have us trust to *France*, and depend upon the Faith or the Promises of that Nation? The very War they are now carrying on in *Germany*, is an unanswerable Argument against it: Their whole Conduct for many Years past must convince us, that their most solemn Engagements are not to be depended on; that nothing can put a Stop to their Ambition, but their Want of Power to be ambitious. Have they not, for more than a Century past, been in a continued Course of making War, as soon as the Security of their Neighbours furnished them with an Opportunity, yielding up a Part of their Conquests by Treaty, but breaking that Treaty again in order to get a little more? In this Manner did they not attack the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* and *Franche Comté* in the Year 1667? But as soon as they found a powerful Confederacy formed against them, they yielded up a great Part of their Conquests by Treaty, with what View we may easily judge; for soon after the Confederacy was by this Treaty dissolved, they again attack'd *Spain* and *Holland*, and by the Event of that new War, got the *Franche Comté* and several Towns in *Flanders* yielded to them for ever. Did they not but lately attack the *Emperor* without any just Cause? Did they not then get the whole Dutchy of *Lorraine* added to their former extensive Dominions, contrary to their express Declaration at the Beginning of that War? These have been the Methods by which they have now at last made themselves so formidable; and if they are in this War allowed to cut and carve for them-

selves, as they were, by the Pusillanimity of our Conduct, in their last War against the House of *Austria*, can we imagine, they will not help themselves to some delicious morsel? The Inactivity and Backwardness of many of the Potentates of *Europe* cannot therefore be owing to their having no present Jealousy of the Ambition of *France*: It must proceed from their being afraid to engage in a Cause, which, till this Nation began to reassume its antient Spirit, appeared altogether desperate. Those Fears must be removed by our vigorous Measures, before we can expect being able to form any Confederacy: Some of the Powers of *Europe* have already been thereby recovered from their Fright; and if we steadily pursue the same Measures, all of them will recover by Degrees; but if this Motion should be agreed to, it would throw them all again into the lowest, the most abject State of Despair, and would render vain and fruitless all we have hitherto done for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*.

Peace, my Lords, is at all Times desirable, and especially to this Nation in its present Circumstances; but I shall always be against a dishonourable and destructive State of Peace, which was a State this Nation was lately kept in for too many Years. This we have by late Experience found to be a wrong Method for preventing a War. It is this that has brought *Europe* into its present dangerous Situation; and if the same ill judged Fondness for Peace had continued to influence our Conduct, the Liberties of *Europe* would by this Time have been irrecoverably lost. I shall therefore be for Peace, but not till we can get an honourable one; and if we resolve upon this, as the Sword is now drawn, we must make our Army negotiate: That Army must be upon the Continent, to encourage our Friends, to

awe our Enemies. This has always been the Method taken, when we found ourselves in Danger of being engaged in a War upon the Continent. In 1701, a large Body of *English* Troops were sent over to *Holland*, sometime before that Confederacy was formed, which afterwards brought *France* to the Brink of Perdition, and would have put an End to her being formidable to any of her Neighbours, if the Fruits of our many glorious Victories had not been blasted by a most inglorious, I shall not say treacherous, Treaty of Peace.

That Treaty, my Lords, was supported by Arguments of the same Kind with those made use of for supporting this Motion. The great Debts the Nation had contracted, the many Taxes the People groaned under, our Inability to continue the War any longer, were the Arguments made use of for making us swallow that bitter Pill: They are the Arguments that always will, they are the only Arguments that can be made use of for justifying a dishonourable and destructive Treaty of Peace; but dear bought Experience has since taught us, that we had done much better to have continued the War two or three Years longer, than to have left the House of *Bourbon* in Possession of so much Power. When I hear such Arguments made use of for such a Purpose, I always suspect a Snake in the Grass; and, I am afraid, they now proceed originally from the same Spirit they proceeded from at that Time: I mean a Spirit of *Jacobitism*, which, thank God! must as yet always appear in Masquerade. I am far from suspecting any of the noble Lords who have appeared in favour of this Motion, of being induced with such a Spirit; but, I am convinced, they have been influenced and misled by the subtil Arguments of those that are. It is this that has raised such a Clamour a-

gainst *Hanover* Troops and *Hanover* Measures, as if his Majesty had no Regard to the Interest of this Kingdom, any farther than so far as it may be made to contribute to the Interest and Ambition of his Electorate. This is such a manifest Falshood, that it can be propagated by none, it can be believed by none but such as are Enemies to our present happy Establishment; and it is, I must say, the thinnest Disguise that *Jacobitism* has ever yet ventur'd to appear in. Therefore, I cannot doubt of its being seen thro' upon this Occasion, by a great Majority of your Lordships.

Whatever our late Measures have been, from whatever Source they may have proceeded, they have greatly contributed to the Honour as well as the Interest of *Great Britain*. We have already made the Queen of *Hungary* triumphant in *Germany*: We have hitherto defeated all the *Spanish* Schemes in *Italy*; and if we continue to pursue the same vigorous Measures, *France* herself may be made to repent her Treachery and Want of Faith. What the Consequence of our Success may be with regard to the *Emperor*, I shall not pretend to determine; but I do not believe the Princes of *Germany* are so much afraid of a powerful Emperor as has been insisted on in this Debate. *Puffendorf* was the Minister and Favourite of a King of *Sweden*, who, tho' a *German* Prince, had always had, as King of *Sweden*, an Interest separate from, if not opposite to that of *Germany*, and had consequently been always in a close Union with *France*. He may there ore be justly suspected of having spoke the Sentiments of his Master, rather than those of the other Princes of *Germany*; and, I am sure, it is more for their Interest to have a Prince upon the Imperial Throne who dare set himself up as a Rival to *France*, than one who must always be in *French* Lead-



Leading-strings. Therefore, no one can tell, what turn the Affairs of *Germany* may hereafter take; for if the present *Emperor* should openly sacrifice the Interest of his Country to that of *France*, many of the Princes of *Germany* may begin to think his Election was not altogether legal; but as he is generally supposed to have a Heart entirely *German*, I hope, he will never give Occasion for any such Disquisition.

Thus, my Lords, from the present Circumstances of *Europe*, and the natural Course of Things, we can have no Reason to doubt of being able to form a very powerful Confederacy for prescribing Bounds to the ambitious Views, and even perhaps for curtailing the Power of the House of *Bourbon*, which has been too much increased by the imprudent and pusillanimous Conduct of this Nation for twenty Years lately past. Such a Confederacy, I say, we may, from the present Circumstances of *Europe*, hope to be able to form; and from the Justice of Providence we have great Reason to hope for Success; for there never was a more manifest Violation of publick Faith than that which was committed by the *French* in their Attack upon the Queen of *Hungary* in *Germany*, or than that of the *Spaniards* in their Attack upon her in *Italy*. It really makes me melancholy to see the most solemn Treaties so openly, so bare-facedly contemned. The antient Heathens would have expected the Heavens to open, and *Jupiter* to dart down his Thunderbolts upon such contemptuous Violators of publick Faith. As the Operations of Providence are now better understood, we have no Reason to expect such miraculous Interpositions; but if we use the Means, we have Reason to expect, that Providence will assist in rendering those Means effectual for the Punishment of such heinous Criminals; and un-

less there is a Judgment hanging over the People of this Nation, I am persuaded, they will approve of the Means.

The Consequences of our not using the Means, the Consequences of our not giving proper and effectual Succours to the Queen of *Hungary*, are such, my Lords, as cannot all be clearly foreseen; but, I am sure, they are such as ought all to be greatly apprehended, especially by this Nation, which has a greater Stake of Liberty as well as Riches than any other in *Europe*. That Princess, if we do not assist her effectually, may in all Probability be obliged to yield up the *Austrian Netherlands* to the *Emperor* or to *France*, more probably to the latter. This, I say, she may be compelled to do; for Necessity, they say, has no Law; but it is a Surrender which she can neither justly nor lawfully make. Those Provinces were put into the Hands of the late *Emperor* as a Trust for the Allies, and as a Barrier both for us and the *Dutch*, therefore she cannot alienate them without our Consent. It would be a Breach of Trust, if she did; but no one can tell what Necessity may force her to; and if she should by our Inactivity be reduced to this Extremity, I believe, we would find it a very difficult Matter to persuade her to join with us in a new War for recovering them.

Besides the Arguments I have hitherto made use of, which are all of a foreign Nature, and which will, I hope, be thought of some Weight in this Debate, I must beg your Lordships to consider, what a Dilemma you will bring his Majesty under by agreeing to this Motion. The House of Commons provides for a Body of Troops for the ensuing Year, and consequently approves of their being kept in Pay during that Time: The House of Lords addresses him to dismiss them. Which House shall his Majesty

Majesty comply with? Shall he dismiss these Troops contrary to the Advice of the other House? If any cross Accident should then happen, the Nation would condemn both his Majesty's Conduct and our Judgment. Shall he keep them in Pay, notwithstanding the Advice of this House? The whole Nation must in that Case condemn either his Majesty's Conduct or our Judgment. Thus his Majesty would be on both Sides under a very great Difficulty; and therefore, I hope, your Lordships will, by putting a Negative upon this Motion, leave his Majesty at full Liberty to determine from future Events, whether, or when he shall dismiss this Body of Troops, or continue to keep them in the Pay of *Great Britain*; for I am persuaded, he will burden us no longer with them than they shall appear to be really useful.

*L. Pilo, in the Character of the Earl of Chesterfield, stood up next, and spoke in Substance as follows, viz.*

*My Lords,*

THE noble Lord who spoke last, informed me of a Piece of News which I was before unacquainted with, and which I am sorry to hear; for if our taking 16,000 *Hanoverians* into our Pay, and for that End sending 16,000 of our own Troops to the Continent, be a wrong Measure, I am sorry to hear, that it was approved of, nay, not only approved of, but applauded, by all those of his Majesty's Council. As I think it a bad Measure, I could have wished to have heard, that it was the Measure of one single Minister, because I should have expected, that in that Case it might have been more easily defeated. However, suppose it to have been approved and applauded by all those then present in his Majesty's Council, this can give me ne'er a Bit the

better Opinion of it; for I have a shrewd Suspicion, that his Majesty's new Council is already formed, as the old one was, under the Direction of one sole Minister, and that no one comes there but those who are resolved to approve and applaud whatsoever that Minister may be pleased to propose; therefore, when the noble Lord informed us of this Measure's having met with such a general Approbation, I hope, he designed it only as a Piece of News, and not as an Argument that ought to have any Weight in this Debate.

What Considerations might prevail in Council for such an unanimous Approbation of this Measure, I shall not pretend to guess. Complaisance might perhaps have some Weight there; but, I hope, it will have none here. I hope, nothing but true Reason and Argument will have any Weight with your Lordships; and however expensive this Measure may be, if it could be made appear, that it has been, or will be of any real Service to the Queen of *Hungary*, I should be as heartily for it as any Lord in this House; because I am as much for supporting that Princess as any honest and reasonable *Englishman* can be; but I am not now, nor ever was for our taking that Support upon ourselves alone, or for supporting her in such a Manner as must soon bring inevitable Ruin upon ourselves. Upon this Subject, the noble Lords who oppose this Motion, have fallen into a very great Mistake, with regard to the Voice of the Nation. Will they say, that the People have desired we should undertake the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, without the Assistance of the *Dutch*, or any of the other Powers upon the Continent? Will they say, the People desired we should engage in a Land War against *France*, *Spain*, and the *Emperor*, without the Assistance of any one Power upon the Continent,



ment, except that Princess alone? My Lords, the Voice of the People was manifested by, and was, at least, for that once, agreeable to the Voice of their Representatives in Parliament, and that was founded upon the Queen of *Hungary's* being timely and properly assisted by those Powers, who were engaged by Treaties, and bound by Interest to support her. If they had been ready to join with us, our sending our Troops abroad, and taking Foreigners into our Pay, would have been agreeable to the Voice of the People; but even in that Case, I doubt much if they would have approved of *Hanoverians*.

I am therefore surprised to hear the Voice of the People made use of for justifying this Measure, and I am still more surprised when I hear it made use of by those, who, in every other Respect, have shewn the utmost Contempt for the Voice of the People. It is this, my Lords, that has raised such a general Odium against some of our Ministers, and this is probably the Cause of their meeting with so little Success in their Negotiations for forming a Confederacy (if they have any such Design) in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*; for however much a Minister may bluster here at home, he will meet with but little Credit or Confidence abroad, when it is known, that he is generally hated or despised by the People. This, I say, may be the Cause of their not having been yet able to form any Confederacy upon the Continent; but whatever may be the Cause, they should have delayed putting the Nation to the Expence of transporting its Troops thither, and taking a great Army of Foreigners into its Pay, till they had seen, that this Step only was wanting to enable them to bring that Confederacy to Perfection. In 1701 we sent some Troops to *Holland*, before the grand

Alliance was absolutely concluded, but it was at the Request of the *Dutch*, and because not only they, but the Emperor, and most of the Princes of the Empire, were soliciting us to enter into a Confederacy with them against the then overgrown Power and ambitious Views of *Lewis* the 14th of *France*.

Can this be said to be the Case at present? Did the *Dutch* request our sending any Troops to the Continent? On the contrary, my Lords, they remonstrated against it; and the King of *Prussia* has declared against any more foreign Troops entering the Empire: Nay, he has threatened them, if they do; and he has not only Power but Spirit to carry those Threats into Execution. I cannot therefore imagine what we are to do with those Troops we have collected together in *Flanders*, unless it be to drain this Country of the little ready Specie yet remaining in it. Surely we will not pretend to attack *France* with an Army of 40 or 50,000 Men, when it is so easy for her to bring an Army of 100,000 against us; and we can as little pretend to enter the Empire, in order to assist the Queen of *Hungary* against the Emperor, because if our own Troops should go there, it will draw the King of *Prussia* upon our Backs; and our Mercenaries must not go there, because they belong to Princes who are Members of the Empire, and cannot therefore engage against the Emperor their Sovereign. It would be wrong to advise his Majesty to expose himself to the Ban of the Empire, by allowing his Troops to be employ'd against the Emperor; and the *Hessians* have expressly stipulated not to be employ'd in any such Service: Nay, I have been told, that the King of *Sweden* has lately insisted upon the exact Observance of this Stipulation.

What then can be intended by this Army in *Flanders*, or what Service

vice it can be of hereafter, either to this Nation or the Queen of Hungary, I cannot comprehend; and, I am sure, it has as yet been of no Service to either. But as the great Effects of our late vigorous Measures, and especially of this of collecting an Army in *Flanders*, have been much boasted of in this Debate, I shall beg Leave to examine the History of *Europe* for a Year or two past; because from thence it will appear, that the late happy Turn in the Affairs of *Europe*, is not owing to our Measures, but to very different Causes. For this Purpose I shall begin with remarking in general, that tho' the *French* were certainly desirous to have the Power of the House of *Austria* reduced, and thought the Death of the late Emperor a most lucky Accident for enabling them to carry their Scheme into Execution, yet they knew too well the Danger and the Expence of carrying on a War with their own Armies at the farther End of *Germany*, and therefore they resolved not to engage in any such Scheme, unless they saw a Probability of getting it executed by the Princes of *Germany* themselves, with a little of their Assistance. For this End it was absolutely necessary to engage the King of *Prussia* in their Interest; and therefore nothing, we may believe, was ever receiv'd with greater Pleasure at the Court of *Versailles*, than the News of that Prince falling into *Silesia*; but as he was then in no Concert with them, as he was on the contrary making great Advances, and very advantageous Offers to the Court of *Vienna*, they were obliged to disguise their Intentions, and to profess the utmost Regard for their Guaranty of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, in order to encourage the Court of *Vienna* in their usual Obstinacy, and by some Means or other to drive the King of *Prussia* to a Necessity of entering into a Concert with them.

My Lords,——*Quod optanti Divum promittere nemo*

*Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.*

Tho' it was the Interest of this Nation by all Means to procure an Accommodation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Berlin*, and even to insist upon the former's accepting of the Terms offered by the latter, yet by Means of this Nation the *French* Court got all they wanted. This is a Mystery, but this Mystery may now be unriddled, by a Paper we have got upon our Table. The Court of *Hanover*, or some of their Ministers here, or perhaps a certain Person who was resolved at any Rate to gain an Interest with them, formed a Scheme for taking this Opportunity to conquer and annex some Part of the *Prussian* Dominions to those of *Hanover*, and for this Purpose an offensive Alliance was to be entered into between the Queen of *Hungary*, the *Czarina*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and King of *Great Britain*, and the *Dutch*, against the King of *Prussia*, with this express Stipulation, that each Party should keep what they conquered, and with a fond but ridiculous Conceit, that the *French* would sit still and quietly allow this Scheme to be carried into Execution.

It was in Consequence of this Scheme, my Lords, that the Troops of *Hanover* were augmented, and not purely to join with this Nation in assisting the Queen of *Hungary*: It was in Consequence of this Scheme, that this Nation was saddled with a Grant of 300,000*l.* to the Queen of *Hungary*, even before she was attacked by any one except the King of *Prussia*: It was in Consequence of this Scheme, that we were put to the Expence of taking the *Danish* and *Hessian* Troops into our Pay, so early as at *Lady Day*, 1741; and it was for the Sake of this Scheme, that his Majesty was advised, in his first Letter to the Queen of *Hungary*,  
not



not to insist peremptorily upon her accepting the Terms offered by *Prussia*. But the *Dutch* absolutely refused to hearken in the least to these Proposals; nay, they even refused a Passage for the *British* Troops design'd at that Time to have been sent to *Hanover*: The *Czarina* refused to have any Share in the Conquests: The Queen of *Hungary* herself refused to have any Share; and, I am sure, no one can think, this Nation intended to keep any Share of what was conquer'd from *Prussia*. These unlook'd for Disappointments very much disconcerted our *Hanover* Projectors; but with regard to the *French* this Scheme had already produced its Effect. It gave them Courage to act in a more open Manner: They marched their Armies publickly to the *Rhine*, and they offer'd great Advantages to the King of *Prussia*, if he would join in their Measures.

This put a final End to our favourite Scheme, because we then saw, the Execution would be extremely dangerous, and the Event very uncertain: Even then we might have prevented the War in *Germany*; for so averse was the King of *Prussia* to the *French* Interest, that he was still offering Terms to the Court of *Vienna*, even after the Battle of *Mollwitz*; and if we had talk'd to that Court as a great and powerful Nation ought to have done, if we talk'd to them in a peremptory Manner, they would, they must have given Satisfaction to *Prussia*; but we talk'd to them like a petty Prince of the Empire, not yet secure of being delivered from their Dominion: We talk'd to them as if we had been afraid of disobliging them, and in all Events promised our Assistance, which confirmed that Court in its natural Obstinacy, so that the King of *Prussia* was at last obliged to close in with the *French*, and this gave Courage to them to enter *Ger-*

many, and to the Duke of *Bavaria* to declare War against the Queen of *Hungary*; for no other Reason can be assign'd, why the *French* and *Bavarians* should let so much of the Summer pass away before their entering upon Action, which, as I shall presently shew, was one of the chief Causes of the Disasters they met with in the following Winter.

I therefore think it is evident, that if the Measures of this Nation had, from the Time of the late Emperor's Death, been directed by Councils entirely *British*, the *French* would never have dared to have entered *Germany*, and by the Concurrence of *Prussia* and *Saxony*, the Duke of *Lorain* would now have been upon the Imperial Throne. This, I say, my Lords, is evident, and this I will venture to declare, without any Fear of being deemed disaffected to our present happy Establishment, or an Enemy to his Majesty's Government. It is not they who expose, but they who advise and promote wrong Measures that are his Majesty's greatest Enemies; and as many Kings have been undone by Flattery, they are his Majesty's greatest and most dangerous Enemies, who sacrifice his Interest to his Favour, and humour his Passions at the Expence of his Reason. It was this Sort of Sycophancy that opened a Way for the *French* into *Germany*, and now I shall observe, that they marched thither with two Resolutions, both which required a nicer Sort of Management than their chief General was capable of. The first was, to save their own Troops as much as possible, and leave the *Germans* to fight it out among themselves; and the other was, not to reduce the House of *Austria* too low, lest they might thereby raise up a new Rival to themselves in the House of *Bavaria*. This, and their late entering into *Germany*, prevented their putting an End to the War at

once by besieging and taking *Vienna*; and their possessing themselves of *Bohemia*, before they had Time to lay up Magazines for providing, or to fortify Places for securing their Winter Quarters, and preserving a Communication with *Bavaria*, was the Cause of all the Misfortunes they met with during the Winter Season; for the *Austrians* made the most of these Mistakes, and at *Lintz* and other Places destroyed a great Part both of the *French* and *Bavarian* Armies before next Spring, which was what gave the first Turn to the Queen of *Hungary's* Affairs, and this, I hope, will not be ascribed to any vigorous Measures pursued by this Nation; for it is well known, that after the defeating of the *Hanover* Scheme, we were so far from minding any of the Promises we had made, or giving her any Assistance, that we allowed our own Enemies the *Spaniards*, to pass unmolested by our Squadrons in the *Mediterranean* to attack her in *Italy*.

Thus, my Lords, the Queen of *Hungary's* own Troops, and the Misconduct of her Enemies, gave the first Turn to her Affairs, without the least Assistance from us; but what gave the principal Turn, was the Behaviour of the *French* General towards the King of *Prussia*, especially at the Battle of *Czastow*. By his haughty Behaviour he had before very much disobliged that Prince, and about the Time of that Battle, which happened the Beginning of *May* last, he pursued his Instruction of saving the *French* Troops, in such a blundering Manner, that the King of *Prussia* plainly perceived it, which made him resolve not to be any longer made the Cat's Paw of by the *French*, if he could any Way avoid it; and the Court of *Vienna* being by this Time become sensible, that notwithstanding our Promises to assist them at all Events, we would not venture to give them any real

Assistance, as long as *Hanover* was in Danger of being attacked by *Prussia*, they now became as pliable as they were before obstinate, and a Peace was, in about three Weeks after that Battle, clapt up between them and *Prussia*, which was immediately followed by one between them and *Saxony*.

In these Negotiations our Ministers at the respective Courts were without Doubt consulted: The Interest of all Parties, nay, even common Complaisance made it necessary; but it is evident, the Treaty was not owing to the Address of our Ministers here; for the Preliminaries between *Prussia* and *Hungary* were concluded so soon after the Battle of *Czastow*, that a Courier could scarcely travel from *Breslaw* to *London* and back again. Therefore, this which gave the principal Turn in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*, was intirely owing to the Misconduct of the *French* General, and to her being convinced by our Actions, of what we should at first have declared in the most peremptory Manner by our Words: I mean, that we would give her no Assistance, unless she made it up with *Prussia*.

As soon as the *Prussian* and *Saxon* Armies were withdrawn, the Queen of *Hungary's* Armies became every where superior; and the *French* being, by their own bad Conduct, disappointed of their Scheme, of making the *German* Princes themselves destroy the House of *Austria*, from that Moment they became sick of the War in *Germany*, and would willingly have put an End to it upon any Sort of honourable Terms. It was this, my Lords, that prevented the *French* from sending any more Armies into *Germany*: They knew, they had felt the Expence and the Danger of sending their Armies to such a Distance, and this made them resolve to send no more, if they could avoid it; for surely they had

Time



Time enough to have sent Armies into *Germany* after the Month of *May*, before any large Body of our Troops either did, or could arrive in *Flanders*; and therefore we must conclude, that neither our Armies nor our Measures have as yet been of any Service to the Queen of *Hungary*, so far as relates to her War in *Germany*, especially as we did not attempt to prevent Mr. *Maillebois's* Army from marching to the Relief of his Countrymen then shut up in *Prague*, without a Possibility of e-

scaping, if he had not marched to their Relief.  
Now, my Lords, let us see what we have done by our Armies or our Measures in *Italy*. Can it with any Justice be said, that we brought the King of *Sardinia* into an Alliance with the Queen of *Hungary*? Did not he join his Troops with hers in *Italy*, so early as in *February*, or the Beginning of *March* last, and that at a Time when we were allowing the *Spaniards* to carry Troops from *Spain* unmolested, for reinforcing the Army we had before allowed them to transport to *Italy*?

\*Tis true, our Squadron in the *Mediterranean* has since been a little more active and watchful, and has given some Assistance to the King of *Sardinia*; tho' I cannot say, we have great Reason to boast of what it did at *Naples*, for the Misfortunes of the *French* in *Germany* had before made the King of the two *Sicilies* resolve to withdraw his Troops from the *Spanish*, and to desire a Neutrality; so that we only made a Shew of forcing him to accept of what he desired, and by granting it, we may, indeed, have obliged the Elector of *Saxony*, but, I believe, neither the Queen of *Hungary*, nor the King of *Sardinia*, think we have thereby done them any Favour. But, my Lords, could our Army in *Flanders* any Way contribute to the Security or Success of our Squadron

in the *Mediterranean*? Or was it necessary to form an Army in *Flanders*, for giving Activity to our Squadron in the *Mediterranean*? And to say, that an Army which was not formed in *Flanders* till the Month of *November* last, prevented the *French* from sending any of their Troops to the Assistance of *Don Philip*, who was upon the Borders of *Savoy* the very Beginning of the Summer, and actually entered the Duchy with his Army in *August*, is something too absurd to merit any serious Answer.

Thus far, my Lords, with regard to the military Operations in *Europe*, and now with regard to the Negotiations, what Service have our Measures done to the Queen of *Hungary* or the common Cause? I have already shewn, that the Neutrality of *Prussia* and *Saxony*, and consequently of *Sicily*, was owing to the Misconduct of *France*, and not to our Measures, and after that I may boldly ask, what Service have we done to that Princess? Have we procured her one Friend? Have we reconciled to her one Enemy? The *Dutch*, we are told, agreed upon an Augmentation of their Troops, as soon as they heard of the Change in our Administration. My Lords, they had agreed to that Augmentation before they could hear of that Change, and when they heard what Sort of Change it was, they stopt short at once, and have not yet proceeded any further, nor joined in any one Measure with us, but, on the contrary, declared against our sending any Troops to *Flanders*. I do believe, the Spirit which appeared the Beginning of last Session in the other House, inspired the *Dutch* with some Courage, because they expected from thence a new and a true *English* Administration, with which, I am convinced, they would have concurred in the most vigorous Measures; but they could

put no Trust in such a motley, such a disconcerted; and such an unpopular Administration as was soon after composed, and therefore they resolved to continue to act the cautious Part; nor is their agreeing lately to assist the Queen of Hungary with 20,000 Men, any Departure from that Resolution; for those Troops are designed only for garrisoning the Towns in Flanders, in Case the Queen of Hungary's Troops should be withdrawn from thence; and the Province of Holland's agreeing to it without the Concurrence of the City of Dort, is nothing extraordinary, for such a Proceeding is very common in that Province, when one of their little Towns continues unreasonably obstinate.

After what I have said, my Lords, I hope, I shall hear no more of the great and good Effects produced by our late Measures. A most happy Change has, indeed, been brought about, but it has been brought about entirely by the Bravery of the Queen of Hungary's Troops; by the Wisdom of her Councils, after they began not to allow themselves to be imposed on by our Promises; and by the French letting their Design too manifestly appear, of setting up the Princes of Germany like Ninepins, to knock down one another. By these Means the Affairs of Europe, which were brought into the utmost Confusion and most imminent Danger, by the Hanover Scheme I have mentioned, have been most surprisngly, and I must say, unexpectedly restored. I am convinced the French would be glad to leave the Queen of Hungary in the Possession of all her paternal Dominions, not already yielded to others by Treaty, if they could get the Emperor established in his Imperial Dignity, and restored to his hereditary Dominions; and, I hope, we are not mad enough, in the present Circumstances of Europe, to join with

her in any Scheme for dethroning the Emperor, divesting him of his hereditary Dominions, or making Conquests upon France. Such a Scheme would revive the War with more Violence than ever, and might be of the most fatal Consequence to this Nation in particular, as well as to Europe in general. If our Ministers have any such Schemes in their Head, the Safety of Europe, the very Being of this Kingdom, depends upon our agreeing to this Address, in order to prevent their proceeding to the Execution of such romantick Schemes; and if they have none such in *petto*, they can have no Occasion for keeping our own Troops in Flanders, and much less for keeping a large Body of Mercenaries in our Pay.

I do not in the least question but his Majesty will ease his People of the Burden of those Mercenaries, as soon as he thinks them no longer useful; but his Way of thinking in this Respect must depend upon the Information and Advice he receives from his Ministers; and as they have advised him to take them into Pay, when they could be of no Use, or at least six Months sooner than they can be of any Use, they may prevail with him to think them useful much longer than they can be of any Use, which we ought to endeavour, by this Address, to prevent; and the Method in which they were taken into our Pay ought to be of great Weight in this Debate. As the Measure was certainly resolved on long before the End of last Session, as it was resolved on while the Parliament was sitting, our Ministers ought to have advised his Majesty to take the Advice of Parliament in a Matter of so great Moment, and which was to be attended with such a vast Expence. In this Kingdom it is observable, that those Kings have always prospered best, and reigned with the greatest



greatest Glory, who took the Advice of their Parliament in all Matters of great Importance; and it has been said, that all the Misfortunes of *Edward the Second* proceeded from his not taking the Advice of his Parliament, but following that of Foreigners, Ministers, and Favourites. Therefore, if his Majesty's Ministers had given him good and upright Counsel, they would have advised him to have communicated this Affair to Parliament, before its rising last Session, since it was certainly resolved on before that Time. Nay, I have been told, that it was at first resolved, that the *Hanoverians* should enter into *British* Pay from the 25th of *March* last; and it is very remarkable, that the extraordinary and extravagant Article of Levy Money happens to amount very near to the Pay of those Troops, from that Day to the 31st of *August*, when they were actually taken into our Pay; so that this new Article seems to have been contrived for making good the Loss of our not taking them into our Pay at the Day appointed.

The noble Lord asked, What we would have our Ministers do? My Lords, I would have them do, and not to seem only to do. It is impossible for them to do any Thing with the Troops they have taken into their Pay, or in the Place where they have assembled our Army. I would have them put the Nation to as little Expence as they can, and at the same Time to do as much as they can for the Queen of *Hungary*. The Way to do this would have been to support her with Money only, and with the Assistance of our Squadron, which we are otherwise obliged to keep in the *Mediterranean*. She is herself certainly the best Judge whether her own Dominions are capable to supply her with Men, and if they are not, what Mercenaries are most proper for her Service. If

she had been left at full Liberty, I believe, the *Hanoverians* were the last she would have chosen. She likewise is the best Judge, where Armies ought to be assembled for her Service; and I am convinced, she would not have chosen to assemble an Army either in *Flanders* or upon the *Rhine*, till she had drove the *French* out of *Germany*, and secured her Possessions in *Italy*. If we had taken this Method, one Half of the Money this Army will cost us, would have done her infinite Service, our Army can do her none; and the other Half we might have employ'd in a vigorous Prosecution of our own War against *Spain*, which I was glad to hear mention'd in this Debate, for I had quite lost it: I had enquired for it among the Officers of our Army, they told me there had been such a Thing lately, for many of their Companions had lost their Lives, and the Nation its Reputation, by the Misconduct of the War, but they now knew nothing about it. I enquired for it among the Gentlemen of our Navy, they told me they had not lately heard of it; for tho' they were in Commission, their Ships were all in Port, and they had no Orders either for sailing or cruising. At last I enquired for it in the City: There, indeed, I heard something of it; for the Merchants said, there must be certainly some such Thing, because every Post brought them Accounts of some of their Ships being taken by *Spanish* Privateers. About three or four Years since, I remember, I heard some Lords talk a great deal of our War against *Spain*, and of the mighty Feats we were to perform. We were to take: We were not only to take, but to hold. Now, after a War of three Years Continuance, in which our Trade has suffer'd extremely, what have we taken, what can we hold?

My Lords, if by neglecting the *Spanish*

*Spanish War* we had done any real Service to the Queen of *Hungary*, it would be some Excuse; but we have done none, and are not like to do much; for I can see, that the War in *Europe* is from henceforth to be prosecuted, not in that Way which will be most for her Service, but in that which will be most safe and most beneficial for *Hanover*. This I can plainly see, by our taking so many *Thousands of Hanoverians* into our Pay; for of all the Troops in *Europe*, they are the last we should have chosen for the Service of the Queen of *Hungary*; and, I am sure, no Minister who had a Regard for his Majesty's Interest as King of *Great Britain*, would have advised our taking them, because no Step could be more unpopular, or tend more to alienate from him the Affections of his People here in *Britain*. Excises of all Kinds are unpopular, but they are complained of chiefly among those who are affected by them; whereas this of taking such a Number of *Hanoverians* into our Pay, and at such an exorbitant Rate too, has united the whole People of *Britain* in one general Complaint. My Lords, it may be attended with an Effect still more dangerous to our present happy Establishment: It may alienate the Hearts of our Army: Troops of different Nations when assembled together, are very apt to conceive little Piques, Jealousies and Heart-burnings against one another: It requires the utmost Dexterity in the commanding Officers to prevent it; and if any Thing like this should happen, I tremble to think of the Consequences; for if the Army as well as People should become disaffected, our present Establishment must be supported by a foreign Army, or not at all; and every *Englishman* must dread to see a foreign Army amongst us.

This, my Lords, is a most terrible Event, and therefore this of ta-

king a large Body of *Hanoverians* into our Pay, is a most terrible Precedent. If we are now persuaded to take them into our Pay for the Support of our Allies abroad, we may hereafter be persuaded to bring them over here for the Support of our Establishment at home. Necessity will be as strong an Argument for that, as it has of late been for keeping up a numerous standing Army of our own in Time of Peace; for they are equally inconsistent with our Constitution; and the Disaffection of our Army may hereafter be pleaded with as much Strength, and perhaps with as much Success, for keeping a numerous Army of mercenary *Hanoverians* in the Kingdom, as the Disaffection of the People has of late Years been pleaded for keeping a numerous Army of mercenary *Englishmen*. What we are now about, my Lords, is the first Step; and, like a Virgin deflowered, it is always more easy to get a free People to make the second Step to Slavery, than it is to get them to make the first. Nay, I am told, that some of the new Converts in the other House (for new Converts are always most zealous) have already declared for bringing the *Hanoverian* Guards to *England*; and it may be added, that a Regiment of the *English* Guards ought to be sent to *Hanover* in their Stead, that at both Places his Majesty may appear both as King of *Great Britain* and as Elector of *Hanover*.

Thus your Lordships may see, how Arguments may be pushed in Favour of what every *Englishman* ought to fear. This must convince you, that our taking any *Hanoverians*, or at any Rate, into our Pay, was a bad and a dangerous Measure. If then we have committed an Error, surely the shorter Time we persist in it, the better; and this of itself is a sufficient Reason for our agreeing to this Address. But sup-

posing



posing it was absolutely necessary to have an Army of 38,000 Men in *Flanders*; and supposing we could get none of the Princes or States in *Europe* to take our Money, but the Elector of *Hanover*, which is not very probable, for *English Guineas* are mighty pretty Things, and seem to be coveted by most of the Countries in *Europe*, as appears from the great Plenty of them we find circulating there: However, I shall for Argument's Sake, admit both these Suppositions, yet still what Necessity was there for frightening our People with these *Hanoverian* Troops? I say, frightening, for I am persuaded, they have frightened us more than they have or can do the *French*, and, I am afraid, they will do us more Prejudice. Had not we spare Troops of our own to have sent abroad? Might not we have sent 32,000, instead of 16,000 *English* Troops to *Flanders*? We have still here at home 23,000 regular Troops, besides 11,000 Marines all regimented. Therefore, if we had sent 32,000 abroad, instead of 16,000, we should have had 18,000 still remaining here at home, which is certainly sufficient for guarding us against those terrible Things called Insurrections and Invasions, and much more than was ever thought necessary in the Reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne*.

I should now take up no more of your Lordships Time, but I cannot conclude, without reminding some Lords, that they ought to speak with great Modesty of our Conduct for the twenty Years lately past, as well as our Conduct for the Twelve Months last past. Whatever they may have done formerly, they ought now to be as sparing in their Invectives against our Conduct during the former Period, as in their Panegyrics upon our Conduct during the latter. In their Panegyrics they ought to be sparing, because our Conduct during that Period is sup-

posed to be their own; for there is nothing more fulsome than to hear a Man sounding his own Praise. And if there was any bad Conduct during the former Period, they ought to be sparing in their Invectives, because they know best how the People came to be disappointed of that national Justice, which in every such Case they have a Right to insist on.

My Lords, downright Charity, and really a Sort of Indignation, made me resolve to say something in Favour of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which, like the Butt of a Company, has been pelted with the Wit of every Treaty-maker since that Time; tho' as the Butt of a Company has often more Wit than any of those that play upon him, so the Treaty of *Utrecht* has more Merit than any Treaty we have made since that Time; but as it is now late, I shall give your Lordships no further Trouble, and therefore conclude with declaring, that I am heartily and sincerely for the Question.

*The next that spoke was Cn. Domitius Calvinus, in the Character of the Duke of Newcastle, whose Speech was to this Effect.*

*My Lords,*

AS this Debate has already held too long, and much longer, I think, than there was any Occasion for, considering how evidently unnecessary it is to present any such Address as what is proposed, I should have given your Lordships no Trouble, if I had not observed, that the noble Lord who spoke last, had through Misinformation given a wrong Account of some Facts which I shall beg Leave to state in their true Light. To begin, my Lords, with the Troops his Lordship reckoned we had still remaining at home, I shall grant, that if the Regiments were compleat, we should still have 23,000 regular Troops, and 11,000 Marines

*Marines*; but none of the Regiments are compleat, and the *Marines*, and marching Regiments returned from the unfortunate Expedition in the *West Indies*, have few or none but Officers, nay, some of them very few of their Officers left alive; A therefore, we could not spare to send 32,000, or any Thing near that Number of our own Troops abroad; and consequently must either have sent none, or were under a Necessity of hiring such foreign Troops as we could get. And as we can more certainly depend upon the Troops of *Hanover*, and can have them cheaper than any other, I must think, it was right to chuse them rather than any other.

My Lords, I am sure I am right in what I say: We can depend more certainly upon them, and we actually have them cheaper, than we could have had the Troops of any other Prince or Potentate in *Europe*. I hope, it will be allowed, that his Majesty is Master, and, consequently, we must be Masters of the Politicks of the Court of *Hanover*; for his Majesty is, and always has been so far from sacrificing the Interest of *Britain*, to that of *Hanover*, that if any such unlucky Necessity should happen, I am convinced, he would sacrifice the Interest of the latter to that of the former; therefore, I may justly say, we are Masters of the Politicks of the Court of *Hanover*, but we are not Masters of the Politicks of any other foreign Court in *Europe*. Any one other of them may change their Politicks of a sudden, and might perhaps recal their Troops in our Pay at the very Instant we stood most in need of them. From whence I must conclude, that we can more certainly depend upon the Troops of *Hanover*, than upon those of any other Potentate in *Europe*; and whatever some noble Lords may think of the Rate we pay for the *Hanover* Troops, it

is as evident as Figures can make it, that we have them cheaper than we could have had such a Body of Troops from any other Prince in *Europe*; for the Articles of the Charge are all the very same, and at the very same Rate with what we have lately paid for all the Troops we have taken into our Pay, with this Advantage, that for these Troops we pay no Subsidy, whereas, if we had hired Troops from any other Prince, a very large Article, by Way of Subsidy, would have been added to all the other Articles of the Charge.

The next Fact I shall take Notice of, because I think it of the utmost Importance in this Debate, is that relating to the Declaration said to have been made by the King of *Prussia*. 'Tis true, my Lords, such a Declaration has been published in our common *Gazettes*, and if it had been genuine, I must say, the best Thing we could have done, would have been to call home our Troops, and dismiss our Auxiliaries; for as the Affairs of *Europe* are now situated, we could not have pretended to have supported the Queen of *Hungary*, if he had again declared against her; but I have heard, by a Letter from *Holland*, and an Authority I can depend on, that his Minister there has disclaimed that Declaration, and publicly declared, that no such Declaration was ever made or published by any Authority from him; therefore, this can be no Argument in Favour of what is now proposed. But as I am upon this Subject, allow me, my Lords, to explain as far as I can, the Conduct of this Court with regard to the Dispute between that Prince and the Queen of *Hungary*. When he attacked *Silesia*, we were under two separate and distinct Engagements to assist the Queen of *Hungary*: One by Virtue of our Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and the other by



by Virtue of the defensive Alliance concluded, and often renewed, between us and the late *Emperor*. In my Opinion, both these Engagements took Place upon *Prussia's* attacking *Silesia*, but the latter certainly did, because we had obliged ourselves to defend or guaranty not only all the Kingdoms, States, and Territories, but all the Rights and Immunities, which the *Emperor* then enjoy'd, among which *Silesia*, and the Cessions made by the Family of *Brandenburgh*, were certainly a Part.

In this Manner, my Lords, his Majesty stood engaged to assist the Queen of *Hungary*, and she accordingly made a Requisition of the stipulated Assistance. At that Time no one could imagine, that the *French* Court would break thro' an Engagement they had so lately, so solemnly, and for such a valuable Consideration enter'd into, and which, they at that very Time publicly and expressly declared, they would religiously perform; I mean their Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; therefore, his Majesty, in his Answer to the Queen of *Hungary*, could do neither less nor more than promise to perform his Engagements, in case his good Offices should be found ineffectual. If his Majesty had not answered in these Terms, it might have been said, with some Justice, that the Honour of *England* was sacrificed to the Interest of *Hanover*, because, by his promising Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*, his *Hanoverian* Dominions became exposed to the Danger of being attacked by *Prussia*; and therefore from this Answer, which has been so much found fault with; it is evident, that his Majesty will always have a greater Regard for the Honour and Interest of *England*, than he has for the Interest, or even the Safety, of his Electoral Dominions. As there will always be Projectors about all Courts, perhaps some of them, either here

or at *Vienna*, might upon this Occasion form a Scheme for seizing upon some Part of the *Prussian* Dominions, in Recompence for the Trouble and Charge the Parties engag'd in the War might be put to; but no such Scheme was ever thought of, much less approved by his Majesty; and therefore the Paper you have upon your Table can be of no Weight, nor ought it, I think, to have been mentioned in this Debate.

From the very Beginning, my Lords, his Majesty's Thoughts were employ'd in nothing so much as in procuring a Reconciliation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Berlin*; but he could not at first advise the Queen of *Hungary* to make it up at any Rate with the King of *Prussia*, because he was very sure, that, while she seemed to be in no Danger from any other Quarter, his Advice would be despised and rejected with Disdain. In a very short Time, indeed, Appearances began to alter. By the Preparations of the *French*, by the Motions of their Troops, by their Applications to the King of *Prussia*, and by repeated Advices from *Paris* and other Parts, it became evident, that, notwithstanding their Protestations, they would shew no greater Regard to their Engagements upon this than upon all former Occasions. Upon this Alteration of Appearances his Majesty altered his Conduct: So early as in the Beginning of *March*, 1740 41, his Majesty communicated his Advices and his Fears to the Court of *Vienna*; and from that Time continued to press the Queen of *Hungary* to accommodate Matters with *Prussia* at any Rate. This, I say; his Majesty continued to press with as much Earnestness as could be admitted between Princes; for in such a Correspondence there is a Regard, or a Sort of *Bienveillance* to be preserved, which is not necessary among private Men.

If the Court of *Vienna* would give

give no Ear to his Majesty's Advice: If they rejected all Propositions made by *Prussia* for an Accommodation: If by their Obstinacy they forced the King of *Prussia* into the *French* Scheme, and thereby made it impossible for their Friends to give them effectual Assistance, his Majesty could not help it, he was in the Right not to engage either his Electoral, or his *British* Dominions, in a War which he saw it was impossible for him to support; and therefore, if the *French* were drawn into Germany, or encouraged by the Accession of *Prussia* to enter that Country: If the Queen of *Hungary* was thereby brought into the utmost Distress, it was not occasioned by any selfish Views in the Court of *Hanover*, but merely by the Obstinacy of her own Councils. Yet still his Majesty resolved not to be wanting in his Endeavours for preserving, as entire as possible, the Power of the House of *Austria*. Even after the King of *Prussia* had entered into an Alliance with *France*, his Majesty did not cease his Endeavours; and his Minister, at the *Prussian* Court, whose Abilities many of your Lordships are well acquainted with, had certainly Instructions, to watch every Opportunity for drawing his *Prussian* Majesty off from that Alliance. Perhaps the Conduct of the *French* General furnished him with that Opportunity. If it did, the Event shewed, that he made the proper Use of it; and if the Sollicitations of the *British* Minister at *Vienna*, aided by the Distress of the Queen of *Hungary*, mollified the Obstinacy of her Councils; surely the *British* Ministers must be allowed to have had some Merit, and some Share in that Accommodation, which immediately after brought on an Accommodation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Saxony*. To which I shall add, that very probably the Preparations making both in *England* and

*Holland*, and the bad Success of the *Svedes* against *Muscovy*, had some Effect upon the Courts of *Prussia* and *Saxony*, by making them afraid of the War's becoming general, or, at least, preventing their being afraid of the Resentment of *France*.

My Lords, both *Prussia* and *Saxony* being thus drawn off from the *French* Alliance, it became then practicable, and is now practicable, to give the Queen of *Hungary* an effectual Assistance; and this, I am persuaded, the *Dutch* will join with us in, as soon as the tedious Forms of their Government will permit. But we could not expect, that they would join with us, nay we could not expect, that our Friends in *Holland* would push it, till they saw an Army upon, or near to their Frontier, sufficient to protect them against the immediate Resentment of *France*. This made it necessary to form an Army in *Flanders*, and we already see the good Effect it has produced; for in a very little Time the Province of *Holland* resolved, without the Consent of the City of *Dort*, which is no inconsiderable City, to assist the Queen of *Hungary* with 20,000 Men. The noble Lord has certainly been misinformed, otherwise he would not have said, that this Body of Troops is to be employed only in garisoning the Towns in *Flanders*, upon the *Austrian* Troops being withdrawn from thence. If this had been the Resolution proposed in the States of *Holland*, the City of *Dort* would have consented to it; but the Resolution was general, to send 20,000 of their Troops to the Assistance of the Queen of *Hungary*; and consequently, that Body of Men are to be at her Disposal, and to be employed where she thinks fit.

Having thus justified his Majesty's Conduct, and rectified the Mistakes as to Facts, which the noble Lord had, by Misinformation, been led into,



I shall now take upon me to direct him where he may find the *Spanish* War: He may find it, my Lords, where it can, and ought only to be found, at Sea, in the *West Indies*, and in *Italy*. But as he will not, I believe, go to either of those Places to search for it, I must refer him to our News-Papers, where there are almost daily some Accounts of it published; and if he will not give Credit to them, tho' in some other Things he seems to give great Credit to them, as appears from what he said about the King of *Prussia's* Declaration: I say, if he will not give Credit to them, I must recommend him to a further Inquiry among the Captains of our Men of War and Privateers; for if he had asked the Question of many of them, some of them, I am sure, could have told him where to find the *Spanish* War; because many of them, if they have not found War, have at least found rich Prizes. But, my Lords, to be serious upon this Subject, how can we obtain, can we ever expect to obtain an honourable Peace from *Spain*, should we allow the *French* to become the Dictators and Umpires of *Europe*? Which will be the certain Consequence, should they succeed in all their present Schemes against the Queen of *Hungary*. They will then become the sole and absolute Dictators in *Europe*; and if they once get Power enough to dictate to the rest of *Europe*, we must even allow them to dictate to us too. Can we expect an honourable Peace of their dictating from any Power in *Europe*, and much less from *Spain* than any other? Therefore, if we should, for the Sake of giving effectual Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*, be obliged to put off for a Year or two the Prosecution of our War with *Spain*, or to prosecute it in a less vigorous Manner than we might otherwise do, the Delay will turn out very

much to our Advantage, especially if the Queen of *Hungary* should, by our Assistance, meet with great Success against her Enemies.

I shall conclude, my Lords, with taking some Notice of the heavy Complaint, that this Treaty for the *Hanover* Troops was not made with the previous Advice and Consent of Parliament, tho' the Parliament was sitting when the Measure was resolved on. I shall not pretend to determine, whether this Measure was resolved on, before or after the End of last Session; but in either Case, the Complaint seems to me to be of a very new and extraordinary Nature. Has not the Crown a Right to make Treaties for foreign Troops without the previous Consent of Parliament? Was any such Design, or any such Treaty ever communicated to Parliament, till after the Treaty was concluded? This Complaint is therefore as direct an Attack upon the known Prerogatives of the Crown, as any that ever was made; and I am sorry to see it made in this House, for we, my Lords, are properly the Guardians of the Prerogatives of the Crown, as they of the other are of the Privileges of the People. But in the present Case the Complaint is more extraordinary than in any other: With respect to *Hanover* Troops, there could be no Treaty: There could be no more than an Estimate of the Charge given in by the *Hanover* Ministers to those of *Great Britain*, and when the several Articles were examined and approved of by the latter, the Thing was done. That Estimate has been laid before Parliament, in order to be provided for with the other Articles of the current Service for the ensuing Year. It has been approved of by the other House, and as it has likewise been laid before this, your Lordships will have an Opportunity to examine it, when the Supplies provided by the other

House come before you for your Consent. Then will be the proper Time to object to the Articles, if you think any of them unnecessary or overcharged; and then all the Objections I have heard made in this Debate may, and, I believe, will be easily answered; but if they could not, it might be an Argument for having them rectified, it can be none for such an Address as is now proposed; and as I think all the other Arguments equally inconclusive, I shall certainly give my Negative to the Question.

C. Lælius, in the Character of the Lord Viscount Lonsdale, stood up next, and spoke in Substance thus.

My Lords,

THE noble Duke has been pleased to give us a short Account of our Conduct, ever since the War began between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia; and yet even from his Account our Conduct seems to be a little unaccountable. At the Beginning we did not so much as advise the Queen of Hungary to agree with Prussia, or to accept of the Terms offered by him: Nay, his Majesty's Letter to the Queen of Hungary was a Sort of Threatning, that if the King of Prussia did not give up all his Claims in Silesia, none of which he could insist on without doing some Prejudice to the Pragmatick Sanction, according to the Interpretation both she and we put upon it, we would immediately join with her in compelling him to do so. Can it be said, that the Queen of Hungary was then threatned from no other Quarter? Had not both Spain and Bavaria put in their Claim to the late Emperor's Succession, as soon as he expired? And was not that a good Reason for his Majesty to advise, and even to insist upon her giving Satisfaction to Prussia? Was not

the Possibility, or rather the Probability, that France would not let slip such an Opportunity, especially as the late Treaty between them and the Emperor had not been ratified by the Empire? Was not this, I say, a good Reason for his Majesty's giving such an Advice, even at the very Beginning of that Contest? It certainly was, my Lords, and his Ministers would as certainly have advised him to it, if they had at that Time had nothing in View but the Tranquillity of Europe, and the Interest of these Kingdoms.

This, my Lords, was, without Doubt, an Error at the first Outset, and how did we atone for it when we were convinced of it by the Preparations of the French, and their Applications to Prussia? Why, we advised the Queen of Hungary to make up Matters with Prussia; but concluded with saying, that the King was determined to fulfil his Engagements to her at all Events. These are the Words of the Letter, a Copy of which is upon your Table; and was not this sufficient to encourage a less obstinate Court than that of Vienna, not to part with so fine a Province as Silesia, especially as Muscovy had declared, that their entering upon Action waited for nothing but its being begun by the King of Great Britain? For what were our Engagements? Were not they to assist with our whole Force, in Case it should be necessary? And, I believe, the Engagements of Hanover were the same. But what was the Consequence? Tho' we appeared so forward at the Beginning, and before France declared her Intention, that the Troops of Hanover were augmented, the Danish and Hessian Troops taken into British Pay, and a Body of British Troops prepared to embark for the Continent; yet from the Moment we were fully convinced, that we should have France to deal with as well as Prussia, the Fear



Fear of *France*, which for many Years had been prevalent at this Court, got the better of every Thing else, and notwithstanding the Promise I have mentioned, we left the Queen of *Hungary* to fight it out by herself alone.

I shall admit, my Lords, that a Correspondence between crowned Heads ought to be carried on with more Caution and Politeness than is necessary among private Men; but surely it ought to be carried on with Sincerity. If we thought, it would be impossible to perform our Engagements to the Queen of *Hungary*, in case *France* should join with *Spain*, *Prussia*, and *Bavaria* against her, why did we say, we would perform them at all Events? Why did we not tell her honestly and fairly, that we neither could nor would perform them, unless by complying with the Demands of *Prussia*, she brought him into the Alliance? If we did not think it impossible, why did we not immediately enter upon Action, in order to bring the Armies of *Russia* upon *Prussia* at the same Time, which, it seems, we had then some Assurance of? There is no accounting, my Lords, for this Conduct; and what we have done since, is altogether as unaccountable. We then gave over all Thoughts of performing our Engagements, because we thought it impossible, or at least too dangerous, even tho' we were then sure of *Russia's* declaring and acting in our Favour; and yet last Spring, we took up a new Resolution: We then resolved to perform our Engagements, and for that End to send a Body of our own Troops to *Flanders*, tho' by the Revolution in *Russia* we were sure, that we could have no Aid from that Empire, and tho' no one Alteration or Accident had happened in our Favour, except a few successful Skirmishes, which the Queen of *Hungary's* Troops had in the Winter Time with those of

*France* and *Bavaria*: I say, my Lords, tho' no one Alteration or Accident besides had happened in our Favour; for the Resolution to act in the *Mediterranean*, and also the Resolution to send our Troops to *Flanders*, and I believe to take the *Hanoverians* into our Pay, was taken long before we could hear of the Accommodation between *Prussia* and the Queen of *Hungary*; which I take upon me to affirm, because Admiral *Matthews* sailed for the *Mediterranean*, about the Middle of *April*. About the same Time the Regiments designed for *Flanders* were appointed, and the first two of these Regiments actually embarked before the End of that Month, and arrived at *Ostend* the Beginning of the following, much about the Time that the Battle of *Czaslów* happened between the *Austrians* and *Prussians*.

Allow me now, my Lords, to compare our Conduct in the Spring, 1740-41, and our direct contrary Conduct in the Spring, 1741-2, in order to see which deserves most to be censur'd; for that they both deserve Censure is with me no Question. Considering the Circumstances of *Europe* upon the late Emperor's Death, and the Probability that *France* would take hold of the Opportunity to reduce her antient Rival, we ought, without Doubt, to have insisted upon the Court of *Vienna's* accepting the Terms at first offered by *Prussia*; and therefore our promising any Assistance against that Prince was a most imprudent Step, and was certainly, in my Opinion, occasioned by some Scheme or Design, which is not yet fully come to Light. But supposing *Prussia* had been so extravagant in his Demands, that we could not have desired the Queen of *Hungary* to comply with them, considering how the Courts of *Russia*, *Saxony*, and *Denmark* stood affected, if we had shewn no Ambition, if we had betray'd no Thought but

but that of restoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*, we might have formed such a Confederacy as would have soon reduced him to Reason, in spite of what *France* and *Bavaria* could do for his Support. Nay, if any such Confederacy had been formed, and this Nation had acted with its wonted Vigour and Alacrity, by sending a formidable Squadron to the *Baltick*, to bridle the *Swedes*, and forming a numerous Army in *Lower Saxony*, I do not believe, the *French* would have ventured to interfere. But, it seems, we had then no great Concern about assisting the Queen of *Hungary*, unless a certain Court could get something by the Bargain. Our Conduct at that Time therefore deserves Censure; but as it was rather imprudent than criminal, it cannot be said to deserve Punishment.

On the other Hand, if we consider the Circumstances of *Europe* last Spring, we must see, that it was then impossible to give the Queen of *Hungary* any effectual Assistance, or to form any Confederacy for her Support, as we could not then hope for any Assistance from *Russia*. The Queen of *Hungary's* Troops had, 'tis true, met with a little Success in the Winter; but as *Prussia* and *Saxony* were both in a close Alliance with *France*, and had both great Armies ready to join the *French* and *Bavarians* as soon as the Season for Action opened, we could not but suppose, that she would be overwhelmed with Numbers, notwithstanding any Army we could form in *Flanders*, especially as the *Dutch* had actually refused to join us with any of their Troops; and if those two Princes had continued firm to their Alliance with *France*, it is certain we could never have made any Use of the Troops we sent there, and might have given *France* a Pretence to declare War against us. Therefore, our resolving to send

Troops there at the Time we did, if it was with a Design to act, was extremely rash, because it involved the Nation in great Expence and Danger, without a View of being serviceable either to the Queen of *Hungary* or ourselves: If it was without any Design to act, but merely with a View, as has been said, to furnish a Pretence for our taking 16,000 *Hanoverians* into our Pay, it was criminal to a high Degree. In the former Case, our Conduct deserves a severe Censure, in the latter an exemplary Punishment.

I know, my Lords, it will be said, that now we may give effectual Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*, and therefore our Army in *Flanders* may now be of Service to her; but future Events can never, before such a wise Tribunal, justify a rash Action committed before they could be foreseen; and as we are Masters of the Sea, it was Time enough to put the Nation to the Expence of sending Troops to the Continent, when it became practicable to turn them to any Use: I shall admit, that we may now give her *Hungarian* Majesty effectual Assistance if she stands in need of it, and therefore I shall consider, whether she stands in need of it, and what Sort of Assistance we ought to give her. As to the first of these two Questions, I find it startles some of your Lordships; but nevertheless, it is a Question that with me admits of some Doubt, and therefore I must make some Inquiry into it. We may, we ought to assist her in a defensive War, for preserving her in the Possession of all her paternal Dominions she now remains possessed of; but, I hope, it will not be said, that we ought to assist her either in stripping the Emperor of his hereditary Dominions, or in procuring her an Equivalent for what she has been obliged to yield to *Prussia*. If then the *French* be willing to put an End



to the War by evacuating *Germany*, and engaging not to assist the *Spaniards* in *Italy* and *Savoy*, upon acknowledging the Emperor, and restoring him to the Possession of his Dominions, we ought to insist upon her accepting the Terms, because by the Assistance of our Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, the King of *Sardinia* and she would soon be able to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Italy* and *Savoy*; and tho' the Emperor should not expressly renounce his Pretensions, yet if he were once in the quiet Possession of the Imperial Throne and his own Dominions, he would be extremely careful, and not easily tempted to revive a civil War in his native Country; because, if he did, it would probably make most of the Princes of the Empire declare against him, which might end in the Ruin of his Family.

This I have mention'd as a Caution, and, I hope, it will be a Caution to our Ministers, not to lead the Nation into any wild and impracticable Projects, if any such should be formed by the Court of *Vienna*; for as to the Question itself it can be determined by none but such as know, what Terms the Emperor and the *French* are willing to agree to. As to the other Question, suppose the *French* should still insist upon the Queen of *Hungary's* yielding a Part of her Dominions to the Emperor, and another Part to the *Spanish Don Philip*: In this Case, we ought to assist her; but, in my Opinion, it ought to be with our Money only. There are Men enough in *Germany*, and if we can get Troops to hire, she may hire them with our Money if she has Occasion for them, and may probably hire them at a cheaper Rate than we can, especially these *Hanoverians* which are now taken into our Pay. My Lords, the Price for Troops, or the Money to be paid in lieu of Troops agreed to be furnished, has

been settled by several late Treaties of defensive Alliance, in which each Party is obliged to furnish the Party attacked with a Body of Troops, or a certain Rate in Money in lieu of them. By the Quadruple Alliance, the Rate in this Case established, is 10,000 *Dutch Florins* for every 1000 Foot, and 30,000 *Dutch Florins* for every 1000 Horse by the Month. At this Rate, as our Army in *Flanders*, which consists of 38,000 Men only, will cost us, for one single Campaign, above 1,500,000*l.* the same Money sent to the Queen of *Hungary*, at the Rate of Exchange we allow it at to our Auxiliaries, would have maintain'd for her during a whole Year, an Army of 131,000 Foot, or an Army of 65,000 Foot and 21,000 Horse; from whence we may see how ridiculous it is for us to think of assisting her with Troops instead of Money.

For Godfake, my Lords, what Necessity is there for our assisting her with Troops? Must we spill our Blood as well as spend our Money in her Service? Can this be necessary, when it is evident, that we should have done her more Service by giving our Money and saving our Blood? Will any of those, who ought to know, pretend to say, that she insisted upon our assisting her with Troops? On the contrary, it has been said, that a very great Man in her Service declared, that the Money our Troops cost us, would have done her much more Service. It is therefore, I think, evident, that we had some other End in sending our Troops abroad than merely to assist the Queen of *Hungary*. Where they are they can do her no Service; and whatever may be alledged, I am convinced, our Mercenaries will not, they dare not march to the Place where they can serve her, unless the Face of Affairs be very much altered before next Campaign.

It has been said, that our sending our Troops abroad will encourage other Powers to join with us. No such Thing, my Lords: It will discourage them. It is so rash a Step: It is such an egregious Error in Politicks, that no Court in *Europe* will have any Thing to do with such Madmen, if not worse. I say worse, my Lords; for if it be true that our Troops were sent abroad, for no other Reason but to furnish a Pretence for our taking a Body of *Hanoverians* into our Pay, as has been hinted in this Debate, those *Englishmen* that advised such a Step, are not only mad, but worse than mad. We might have had the Troops of any Prince in *Europe* at a cheaper Rate. None of our late Treaties for foreign Troops ought to be look'd on as Precedents, for in every one of them, we paid more than was necessary or usual, because there was some other Consideration, some Service done, or to be done to *Hanover*, which this Nation was to pay for, besides the Hire of the Troops. We may often get Troops without being obliged to pay Subsidies: We may often get Troops without being obliged to pay Levy Money; and with respect to the *Hanoverians*, we have introduced a new Article, that of recruiting Money, which was never before in any Treaty for the Hire of Troops, which is not in that we now have with the King of *Sweden* for his *Hessians*, which is not allowed even to our own Troops; because the current Pay, from the Time of a Man's Death or Desertion, has always been allowed, and has always been thought sufficient for answering the Expence of recruiting.

This of course brings under my Observation what the noble Duke has said of our Regiments being incomplete. In ordinary Cases, this intermediate Pay may be allowed to make good the Expence of recruiting; but those Recruits ought to be

raised as soon as possible, that the Publick may not be made to pay for Troops it has not in its Service; therefore, in extraordinary Cases, when a whole Regiment has been near cut off, and has, through Necessity, continued long unrecruited, a different Account ought to be made up. For this Reason, I hope, we shall have an Account of what has been saved by the Incompleteness of our Regiments here at home, and especially by the unaccountable Destruction of our Troops, sent upon that ill concerted and ill conducted Expedition to the *West Indies*. But whether we could have sent more of our own Troops abroad or no, is with me no Way material in the present Debate; because, I think, we ought not to have sent any, nor to have taken any foreign Troops into our Pay. And with me it is as little material, what the King of *Prussia* has declared, or the *Dutch* resolved; because in the present Circumstances of *Europe*, we ought not, I think, to enter into any romantick and dangerous Projects for reducing the Power of *France*, or increasing or restoring the Power of the House of *Austria*; and with the Assistance of our Money and our Fleet, I believe, the Queen of *Hungary* will be able to make both the *French* and the *Spaniards* sick of the War; therefore our chief Business ought, I think, to be to mind our own Concerns, which is the prosecuting the War against *Spain* with Vigour, in order to bring it to a speedy and happy Conclusion; and as the *Spaniards* have now sent so many of their Troops out of that Kingdom, I think that War ought, now especially, to be found upon the Coasts of *Spain*, as well as in *Italy* and the *West Indies*.

I am surprised, my Lords, to hear it said, that our agreeing to this Address would bring his Majesty under any Difficulty. Suppose it should,



should, are we to be directed by the other House, left by our Disagreement we should bring his Majesty under a Difficulty? But there is no Danger of any such Consequence: The other House may consent to what Troops they please; if we do not likewise consent, his Majesty cannot have them; therefore he can be under no Difficulty in refusing what he cannot have; and consequently, the other House's having consented to the hiring of these Troops, can be no Argument for our consenting to it, nor any Argument against our agreeing to this Motion.

*The last that spoke in this Debate was C. Plinius Cæcilius, in the Character of the Lord Chancellor, whose Speech was in Effect thus.*

*My Lords,*

OUR Debates upon all Subjects would be much shorter, if your Lordships would resolve to keep close to the Subject in Hand, and to state your Arguments methodically, distinctly, and clearly. This I shall endeavour to observe in what I am to say upon the present Question, as exactly as I can; and as the principal Arguments for the Address proposed, consist in Objections against our taking, or keeping the *Hanover* Troops in our Pay, I shall consider the Method and Manner in which that Measure was resolved on, the Merits of it, the Utility of it, and, lastly, the Popularity. As the *Dutch* are at least as much concerned as this Nation in the Preservation of the Balance of Power, and Tranquillity of *Europe*, his Majesty has, ever since his Accession, kept up a close Correspondence with them in every Thing that related to that Particular; and when the King of *Prussia* invaded *Silesia*, he resolved to pursue the same Conduct. Accordingly, as soon as he heard of that

Invasion, he, by his Minister at the *Hague*, founded their High Mightinesses Sentiments upon that unexpected Event, and found that many of them expressed not only a Surprise, but an Indignation at his *Prussian* Majesty's violent and precipitate Method of proceeding. His Majesty could not, therefore, but answer the Queen of *Hungary's* Letter, agreeable to the whole Tenor of his former Conduct, that in an Affair so important and unexpected, he would consult with the Republick of the United Provinces; that he was ready to perform his Engagements, but that he would try what could be done by peaceable Methods, before having recourse to warlike; and from the Method in which the Members of the States General expressed themselves at first, he could not but suppose, that they would be ready to join with him in the latter, if the former should be found to be ineffectual.

Upon this, my Lords, his Majesty ordered the *Danish* and *Hessian* Troops to be ready to march, and gave Notice, that he would take them into his Pay at the *Lady-Day* following; and, likewise, he ordered his own Electoral Troops to be augmented with 7 or 8000 Men; all which he did, not with a View to get any Thing for *Hanover*, but with a View to be ready at all Events; and because he thought, with great Reason, that his warlike Preparations would give Weight to his Negotiations with the King of *Prussia*, whereby he might be able to restore the Tranquillity of *Europe* before it could be disturbed, or the Disturbance increased by any other Pretender to a Share of the late Emperor's Dominions. But upon its appearing that the *French* were preparing to assist the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the *Spaniards* to invade *Italy* both by Sea and Land, the States General became so disheartened and dismayed, that

that they absolutely refused to join in any hostile Measures; and upon his Majesty's finding, that he could procure no Reconciliation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Prussia*, he resolved not to engage this Nation in a War, which would be too expensive, and too dangerous for it to support by itself alone.

This, my Lords, was the true Reason of his Majesty's Inaction during the Year 1741, and of the Neutrality he that Year concluded for his Electoral Dominions; but nevertheless, he continued, during that whole Year, his Negotiations for reconciling the Courts of *Vienna* and *Berlin*, for spiriting up the King of *Sardinia* to join with the Queen of *Hungary*, and for recovering the *Dutch* from the Panick which the *French* Party there had thrown them into; for in that Republick, as in all free States, there are and always will be Parties. They have for a long Time been divided into two Parties, one of which is for keeping up a close Correspondence with *France*, and not being too suspicious, as they call it, of the Ambition of that Court; and the other is for entertaining a continual Jealousy of *French* Faith and Promises, and in order to guard against them, to keep up a close Union with *Great Britain*, and the House of *Austria*. The former of these Parties is of course, as it has always been, joined by all the high Republicans, who are afraid of nothing so much as a Stadtholder; and the latter is joined by the Prince of *Orange's* Party; which is the Reason of the former's being the most powerful, the latter the most popular.

Between these two Parties, my Lords, his Majesty had a very difficult Part to act, but got a great Advantage by the Successes of the Queen of *Hungary*, about the End of the Year 1741. This gave Courage to the *Anti-French* Party in *Holland* to propose an Augmentation of their

Troops, and so far dissipated the Fears of all the moderate Men in *Holland*, that their Proposal was agreed to by the States General, and an Augmentation actually resolved on about the Beginning of the last Year. Upon this Occasion, I shall not affirm, but I may with Reason suppose, that the same Party, or some of the Heads of them, insinuated to his Majesty, that if a Body of *English* Forces were sent over to *Flanders*, and a considerable Army formed there, it might be of great Service to their Party, by giving them a Majority in the Assembly of their High Mightinesses, and that they would then persuade the States General to join with his Majesty in the most vigorous Measures. This, I say, I shall not affirm, but I may suppose it; and therefore I may suppose, that this was the true Reason of his Majesty's resolving so early last Spring to send over a Body of his Troops to *Flanders*; but as this Body was not of itself sufficient, even in Conjunction, with the *Austrian* Troops there, to form any considerable Army, therefore it was, I believe, at the same Time resolved, that the *Hessians* in *British* Pay should join them, and that another large Body of foreign Troops should be hired for the same Purpose; but what Troops should be hired for this Purpose, was not so soon resolved on. I am convinced, the *Hanover* Troops could not at that Time be so much as thought on, because they could not march from their own Country, whilst a *French* Army was upon its Frontier. For this Reason I am apt to believe, that Applications were made for other Troops, and when none other could be found, and Marshal *Maidenbourg* had marched with his Army from the Neighbourhood of *Hanover*, then, I believe, and not till then, the hiring of this Body of *Hanoverian* Troops was thought on; consequently



quently this Measure could not be resolved on before the End of last Session of Parliament; so that his Majesty could not ask the previous Advice of Parliament, either with Regard to the *Hanover* Troops, or with Regard to the sending a Body of his own Troops abroad. With Respect to the former, he could not ask the previous Advice of Parliament, because the Measure was not resolved on till after the Parliament was up; and with Respect to the latter, he could not ask the previous Advice of Parliament, because he could not communicate to such a numerous Assembly, the secret Motives that induced him to resolve upon it.

After this short Account, I hope, none of your Lordships will have Reason to find fault with the Method or Manner in which this Measure was resolved on; and as to its Merits, if there be any Merit in preserving the Balance of Power by assisting the Queen of *Hungary*, there must be great Merit in this Measure, because when I come to consider the next Branch I shall shew, that it has been already of great Use, and may be of much greater. It is impossible to strip it of its Merit, without saying, that there neither is nor was any Merit in assisting the Queen of *Hungary*, or in preventing the *French* from becoming the sole and absolute Arbitrators of *Europe*. This, I am convinced, not even a profess'd Jacobite will pretend; for no one of them, unless he be at the same Time a biggotted Papist, would, I believe, wish to see his Country made a Sort of Province to *France*, and his King, as he calls him, settled here, only as a Vicegerent under his Most Christian Majesty; and yet this would certainly have been the Consequence, if the *French* had established *Don* *Philip* in the Possession of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; the King of *Prussia* in the Possession of

the greatest Part of *Silesia*; the Elector of *Saxony* in the Possession of *Moravia* and the rest of *Silesia*; and the present Emperor in the Possession of *Bohemia*, the *Upper Austria*, the *Tiroleze*, the *Trentine*, and a great Part of *Swabia*; as they designed and declared. I say declared, my Lords, for that they had yet further Designs I do not in the least question. I am convinced, and from their late Practice we must conclude, that they designed to add some Part of *Flanders*, if not the whole, and perhaps some Part of *Germany*, to their own Dominions; but this Design they took Care not to declare, nor would have declared, till the Queen of *Hungary* had been reduced to an irrecoverable Situation.

If this had been the Consequence of our giving full Scope to *French* Ambition, could either the *Dutch* or we, my Lords, have pretended to disobey their Commands? I am sure, the *Dutch* would not, and if we had, they would have commanded the *Dutch* to join them with their Squadrons; so that we should probably have been overcome even upon our own Element, the Ocean.

I now come, my Lords, to the Utility of the Measure under our Consideration; and whatever other Lords may think, I must still be of Opinion that even the King of *Sardinia*'s joining the Queen of *Hungary* was owing to this Measure; for I do not think he would have ventured to have declared openly, if he had not known, that his Majesty was resolved to send a Body of his Troops to *Flanders*, from which he foresaw, that the *French* would not be able to send a Body of their Troops to assist the *Spaniards* against him. The next good Effect this Measure contributed to produce, was the detaching of *Prussia* and *Saxony* from the *French* Alliance; for both

of them saw, that if this Nation and *Holland* should openly and vigorously espouse the Cause of the Queen of *Hungary*, their Success would become very doubtful, therefore both became inclined to listen to amicable Terms, which his Majesty's Ministers were continually soliciting, and the Fate of the Battle of *Czaslow*, together with the Behaviour of the *French* at that Time, determin'd the King of *Prussia* to enter immediately into a Negotiation, by Means of his Majesty's Mediation. This was the immediate Cause of the *French* and *Bavarians* being routed every where in *Germany*, and at last a considerable Part of their Army shut up in the City of *Prague*; but this Event the *French* might have prevented or remedy'd, if his Majesty had not at that very Time been transporting his Troops to *Flanders*, which obliged the *French* to form an Army at *Dunkirk*, and to march most of the Troops they had left to their Frontier upon that Side, whereas, otherwise, they might have sent such Numbers of Troops into *Germany*, as would, in all Probability, have prevented the Misfortunes they met with in that Country.

The last good Effect produced by this Measure, is the Resolution lately agreed to by the *Dutch* for assisting the Queen of *Hungary* with 20,000 Men, which is an Earnest of what we may hereafter expect, if we steadily and vigorously pursue the same Sort of Measures. My Lords, the *French* Party in that Country is so strong, and has been so long prevalent, that we cannot expect our Friends there should at once be able to do all we wish. They must proceed by Degrees, and as it were Step by Step. Considering the Difficulties they have to surmount, they have done so much already, that we may reasonably expect, the States General will next Year resolve to join us with their whole Force; and if they should do so, we may then

be in a Condition to attack *France* itself with an Army of above 100,000 Men. If this should be the Case, whatever extravagant Opinion some Lords may have of the present Power of *France*, I believe, she would be unable to send any Succours either to *Germany* or *Savoy*; and then we might expect to see Prince *Charles* of *Lorain* very soon upon the *Rhine*, with another Army of above 100,000 Men; besides a numerous Army of *Austrians* sent into *Italy*, to drive the *Spaniards* from thence, after which *France* might expect to be invaded by another formidable Army upon the Side of *Savoy*; and all those Armies consisting of veteran, well disciplined Troops.

I shall grant, my Lords, that *France* and *Spain* can bring great Numbers of Men into the Field; but let us consider, that the former has already lost a great Part of her veteran, well disciplined Soldiers in *Germany*, and the latter a great Part of hers in *Italy* and *Savoy*. They may now perhaps be able to bring Armies into the Field, equal in Number to those that are brought against them; but they will be far from being equal in Vigour, Courage, or Discipline; and consequently, with the Assistance of Providence, we have great Reason to expect such Success, as to be able to prescribe Terms of Peace both to *France* and *Spain*; therefore we need not trouble our Heads much about prosecuting our War against *Spain*, especially in the *West Indies*, where the Climate will always be more fatal to our Forces than the Enemy. But all this depends upon our being able to bring the *Dutch* into the Alliance; and as nothing could contribute more to that so much to be wish'd for Event, than our forming an Army in *Flanders*, the Utility of that Measure must, I think, be acknowledged by every one of your Lordships.

In



In the last Place, my Lords, I come to consider the Popularity of this Measure; and here I must bemoan the Fate of this Country, where ill designing Men have almost as much Liberty as they please to spread false Rumours among the People, and to enforce a Belief of those Rumours with all the cunning Sophistry they can invent. I shall always be for preserving the Liberty of the Press, but when the Press is evidently made use of for spreading Sedition and Disaffection, not only to the Person of the King, but to his illustrious Family, and our present happy Establishment, it deviates, I think, into Licentiousness; and if the Laws in Being are not sufficient, some new Law ought to be made for putting a Stop to it. This is, in my Opinion, the Case with respect to the Liberty now taken to insinuate, and even by all Sorts of artful Arguments to prove, that ever since his late Majesty's Accession, the Interest of England has been sacrificed to that of Hanover, and particularly that our sending our Forces to Flanders upon this Occasion, was designed only to furnish a Pretence for taking 16,000 Hanoverians into our Pay. That this particular Insinuation must be false, I hope, I have shewn to your Lordships Satisfaction; because we could not so much as expect to have any Hanoverian Troops to hire, when the Resolution was taken to send our own to Flanders. By thinking and considerate Men this Insinuation, like the rest of the same Kind, can never be believed; and among all those of my Acquaintance I have the Consolation to find, it is not. On the contrary, they acknowledge their Gratitude to his Majesty for running the Risk of exposing his Electoral Dominions to be invaded, on account of his lending his Troops for forming an Army, which may contribute so much to the Safety as

well as Interest of Europe in general, and of this Nation in particular. This, I believe, is very generally the Way of thinking among Men of Rank and Figure. As for the Populace, whatever Way their Credulity may have been lately abused, they will very soon, I hope, be undeceiv'd by the Event; therefore their Way of thinking ought to have no Weight with your Lordships, and, I am sure, it shall have no Influence upon my Way of voting with regard to this Question.

*I shall now give the second Day's Debate we had in our Club upon the famous Bill, intitled, A Bill for repealing certain Duties on Spirituous Liquors, &c. which was occasioned by our going through the Form of committing the Bill; for when the first Clause was read, and agreed to, and after the second was read, C. Lælius, in the Character of the Lord Viscount Londale, stood up and spoke to the following Effect,*

*My Lords,*

AS I have a very great Concern for the Health and Welfare of the labouring Poor: As they are the chief Support, and therefore their Preservation and Increase ought to be the chief Care of the Magistrate and Legislature of every Society; I have been at some Pains, since the second reading of this Bill, to inquire into the Effects of Gin-drinking among the labouring Poor of this Kingdom. For this Purpose I have conversed with some of the few of our Parsons of Parishes, that make a Conscience of their Duty, and think the Soul of a poor Man or Woman as worthy of their Care as the Soul of a rich one: I have conversed with the Overseers of the Poor in several of our Parishes, and even the Parish Nurses I have not neglected to examine. From all these

these I have such shocking Accounts of the fatal Effects of Gin-drinking amongst the Vulgar, that I cannot think, your Lordships have sufficiently considered the Consequences of passing this Bill into a Law, otherwise you would not have given it so much Countenance as you have already done. If your Lordships were to sit in some spacious Plain, and to have all the Sufferers by this abominable Vice brought before you, it would be such a shocking Sight, that Humanity itself would make you reject a Bill which is to give a Loose, nay a Licence to a Vice that makes such Havock among Mankind. To see Men enfeebled and consumed, or rioting in all the most horrid Sorts of Wickedness: To see Women naked and prostituted: To see Children emaciated, starved, or choaked; and all by the Use of this pernicious Liquor called Gin, would surely make you reject with Disdain, a Bill which is to set up, by publick Authority, 50 or 100,000 Houses in this Kingdom, as Traps for drawing the unthinking Vulgar into the excessive Use of this Liquor.

To lead Men into Temptation is a Character, my Lords, and one of the worst Characters of the worst of Beings. To prevent our being led into Temptation is a Petition which, by the greatest Authority, we are taught to put up to our Great Creator: What then shall we say of an Assembly of Lawgivers, who gravely sit, and advisedly enact a Law for establishing, by Authority, a great Number of House-keepers, whose sole or chief Business is to be, to tempt their Fellow Creatures to be guilty of one of the worst Sort of Crimes, a Crime which is productive of all other Sorts of Crimes? Could such an Assembly be supposed to consist of Christians? Could it be supposed to consist of human Creatures? Would it not be supposed to be an

Assembly of Devils? What then shall we say of ourselves, my Lords? What shall we say of the Bill now under our Consideration? It is evidently a Law such as I have described; for when you grant a Man a Licence to sell Gin, it becomes of course his Interest, and consequently will be his Business, unless he has more Virtue than those that granted him the Licence, to tempt and draw People in to the excessive Use of that Liquor.

But we are told, the People will drink Gin: They will get drunk with Gin; and if you do not allow them to drink it publickly, and by Authority, they will drink it clandestinely and without Authority. Why then, say the Advocates for this Bill, may not the Government avail itself of this Vice, and since the People will be vicious, make them pay for being vicious. Is this, my Lords, a Way of arguing in a Christian Country? When we consider how destructive this Vice is to the Health, as well as the Morals of the People, can we say it is a Way of arguing consistent with Humanity? When we consider how this Vice enervates the Soldier and the Sailor, and how it stupifies the Mechanick and the Manufacturer, can we say that this Way of arguing is consistent with our Security, our Trade, or our Navigation? Surely, the more prone the People are to the Vice, the more rigid should the Laws be against it, the more diligent the Magistrate to put them in Execution. It was not the Severity of the late Law that raised the Indignation of the Mob against it: It was the Distinction so plainly made by that Law, between the Poor and the Rich. If a Man was rich enough to buy two Gallons a Time, he was by that Law to have as much as he pleased of any Spirituous Liquors whatever, and at as cheap a Rate as formerly; but if



he was so poor as not to be able to purchase two Gallons at a Time, he was not, upon the most urgent Necessity, to have a single Dram of any Sort of Spirituous Liquors, or at any Rate, unless some rich Person gave it him out of Charity. It was this invidious Distinction between the Rich and the Poor, that set the Mob so much against the Execution of that Law, and made them more fond of Dram-drinking than ever; because they then began to look upon it as an Insult upon the Rich, who had attempted to deprive them entirely of it, at the same Time that they reserved to themselves a free Indulgence.

For this Reason, my Lords, I do not know but it would be better to repeal that Law than to leave it a standing Law unexecuted, because the Repeal might give a Turn to the Inclinations of the Poor, whereas, while it stands unexecuted, it stimulates their Inclinations, without restraining their Power. But if that Law is to be repealed, I hope, your Lordships will think of some Law in its Stead, that may be executed, and will put a Stop to the Evil. I hope, your Lordships will never think of this destructive Vice as a Fund for raising Money. That Vermine of Projectors who haunt the Levies of Ministers, may think of such a Fund, because they have no Regard to any Thing but the Project they recommend; and Ministers are but too apt to give Ear even to their most ridiculous Projects, if they have but the Appearance of bringing in a great deal of Money to the publick Treasury; but, I hope, your Lordships will consider all the other Consequences, and will never approve of a Project, let it have what Appearance it will of bringing in Money to the publick Treasury, if it be evident, that it must end in the Destruction of the laborious Poor, which is plainly

the Case of the Bill now under our Consideration; for in the former Debate it was made appear, and, indeed, from the Nature of the Thing it is apparent, that the small additional Duties proposed by this Bill, will be all born by the Distiller and Retailer; so that the Poison itself will be sold as cheap as ever it was before, and the free Access, which the Poor are by this Bill to have to it, will certainly encourage the Consumption.

B For these Reasons I must think, your Lordships have not fully considered the Nature of this Bill; therefore I shall move, that the House may be resumed; and if that is agreed to, I shall then move to put off the committing it for a C Week, that in the mean Time you may have an Opportunity to examine the Justices of Peace, who will give you an Account of what Multitudes of Riots proceed from Gin-shops; the Parsons of some of our out Parishes, who will tell you, that a Deluge of Immorality and Profaneness flows from those Receptacles of Drunkenness and Lewdness; the Physicians and Nurses of our Hospitals, who will inform you, that a vast Multitude of Diseases and Accidents proceed from Gin-drinking; the Overseers of the Poor, who will tell you, what Numbers of poor Objects are brought upon the Parish by a too free Use of these Liquors; and if any of the Gin-shop-keepers themselves are honest enough, they will tell you, that F when poor Creatures fall once into the Habit of Gin-drinking, they never leave it off as long as they have a Rag to wear, or a Leg to crawl on. And when your Lordships have had a full Account of all those dismal Consequences, I am G persuaded, you will have too much Humanity to pass a Bill for encouraging and authorizing this destructive Vice. Therefore, I shall now conclude

conclude with moving, that the House may be resumed.

L. Icilius, in the Character of the Earl of Ila, spoke next in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

**T**H<sup>O</sup> the noble Lord has been pleased to move only for resuming the House, yet from what he has said, you may perceive his Intention to be, that the Bill should be rejected; therefore I rise up to speak to your Form and usual Method of Proceeding, and, I believe, there is no Example of your rejecting a Bill in the Committee, after reading the first or second Clause only. If it be a Bill your Lordships think essentially wrong, or such a one as cannot be amended so as to make it a useful Bill, you reject it upon the second reading: If it be a Bill which you think may be amended, so as to make it a good Bill, you go through it in the Committee, and if after having there made all the Amendments you can, it appears still to be a defective or inconvenient Bill, you throw it out upon the Report, or upon the third reading. For this Reason, as the noble Lord's Motion is contrary to that Method of Proceeding which has been continually practised by your Lordships, I hope, you will not agree to it; for if you think the Bill ought to be rejected, you ought to do it directly: It is inconsistent with the Dignity of this House to take such an indirect Method of rejecting it; and if it is to be at last rejected, the sooner you do it the better, that the other House may the sooner have an Opportunity to provide otherwise for the current Service of the ensuing Year.

The next Speaker was P. Ælius, in the Character of the Earl of Aylesford, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

My Lords,

**A**S I have not lately look'd over your Journals, and never did with a View to the Question started by the noble Lord who spoke last, I am not so much Master of the Thing as to bring you presently an Example of your having, after reading the first or second Clause, put off the Committee upon a Bill; but that you may do so, and even that it may be necessary for you to do so, is so agreeable to Reason, that I cannot doubt of there being Precedents for it; because, when you come to consider every Clause by itself, which you never do, till the Bill comes before you in a Committee, such Difficulties may occur, upon the first, or any other Clause in the Bill, or such Facts may be started and disputed, as may be impossible to be solved or determined without a further Consideration or Inquiry. But if no such Example or Precedent should appear upon your Journals, it is no Reason why you should not now do what is in itself so necessary and so agreeable to Reason.

This, my Lords, must be admitted with regard to any Bill that can come before you, but with regard to such Bills as this now before you, there is a stronger Reason, which is your not having a Power to amend it without endangering the Loss of the Bill; for if you think, you cannot agree to this or any other Clause of the Bill without some Amendment, why should you proceed any further? Why should you give yourselves the Trouble of amending a Bill, when you are morally certain that your Amendments will signify nothing? And if upon further Consideration it should appear, that the Smallness of the Duties proposed to be added by this Clause, will rather increase than diminish the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors, you cannot in Conscience



ence agree to this Clause without an Amendment; therefore this Point ought to be determined, before you give yourselves the Trouble of proceeding upon any of the other Clauses of the Bill; and this Point you cannot, I think, determine, without having some of the Distillers and Retailers examined; for which Reason I shall be for my noble Friend's Motion, that you may have an Opportunity to call some of the most eminent Distillers and Retailers to be examined at your Bar.

*Upon this L. Icilius, in the same Character, stood up again and spoke to this Effect.*

*My Lords,*

**I** Am surprised to hear any Member of this august Assembly make use of such an Argument as to say, that we have not Power to amend this Bill. This, my Lords, is a Point which I shall never give up. We have a Power to amend this Bill, or any Bill that can come before us. The other House, I know, has of late contended, that we have no Power to amend a Money Bill; but this we never yet gave up. It is an Incroachment, or rather an Usurpation in the other House, which is not as yet made a Part of our Constitution, nor established by any constitutional Authority. They have not as yet been so hardy as to make any express Order even of their own House against it: They have only resolved, not to have a Conference with us about any such Amendment, and even this is so late as since the Revolution. But this they may avoid by agreeing to our Amendments, as they did in a late Instance, I mean the famous Bill for preventing Bribery and Corruption at Elections.

If your Lordships therefore think it necessary to amend this Clause, you may, without any moral Cer-

tainty of the Bill's being thereby lost; but as to the Reason given for its being necessary to amend it, I think, there is not the least Ground for it. From all former Experience we may conclude, that the additional Duties now to be imposed, small as they are said to be, will increase the Price to the Consumer, and consequently diminish the Consumption, especially among the Poor, who are seldom able to pay for a Debauch, even at the present Price. In all

Cases of new Duties imposed, we have generally found, that when the Government laid a Tax of one Penny upon the Manufacturers or Retailers, they laid a Tax of Two Pence upon the Consumer; and will your Lordships examine Witnesses against a Fact established by such a long Course of Experience? It is impossible for you to believe any Evidence against a Fact so established; therefore, I think, you have no Occasion for any farther Consideration or Examination as to this Point, nor, in my Opinion, to any other; and consequently there is no Necessity for postponing the Bill, which, as it is a Supply Bill, ought not, I am sure, at this critical Conjunction, to be postponed, without a very evident and urgent Necessity.

*A. Posthumus, in the Character of the Duke of Bedford, stood up next and spoke in Substance thus:*

*My Lords,*

**T**HE noble Lord who spoke last, certainly mistook the Meaning of my noble Friend who spoke immediately before him. He did not mean, that we have no Power to amend the Bill: I believe, he will be as tenacious of that Point as any Lord in this House: He meant only that we could not amend the Bill, without running a Risk of its being thereby lost; and he was, without all Doubt, in the right. We shall

not only run a Risk, but, in my Opinion, there is an absolute Certainty of the Bill's being thereby lost; not only on Account of your amending a Money Bill, but on account of your altering entirely both the Nature and the Intention of the Bill. When the other House sent it up to your Lordships, they intended it as a Supply Bill: As it stands now it is a Supply Bill, and will, I foresee, bring in a very plentiful Supply, which is one of my chief Reasons for being against it, because this very Effect will, I am afraid, put it out of our Power ever hereafter to repeal or alter it, or to remedy the Evil so justly complain'd of. But if you amend this Clause, as I think it ought, and as all the Lords who have spoke upon the same Side of the Question, seem to think it should: If you lay such a Duty upon the Still-head, and upon Licences, as will amount very near to a Prohibition, at least with respect to the Poor's committing any Debauch in these Liquors, the Bill will be no longer a Supply Bill: It will be a restraining prohibitory Bill; and will diminish, instead of adding any Thing to the publick Revenue, at least that Revenue arising from the Duties upon home-made Spirits.

After having thus explained, and, I hope, justified, what I take to be my noble Friend's Sentiments, I must declare, my Lords, that I am for your going thro' the Bill in a Committee, and amending, if you think necessary, every Clause in the Bill, especially that now under your Consideration, so as to make it, instead of a Supply Bill, such a prohibitory and restraining Bill, as will put an effectual Stop to the national Evil so long, so loudly, and with so much Reason complain'd of. This I am for, my Lords, not because I suppose that, when you have so amended it, this very Bill will be passed by the other House, but be-

cause it will shew the other House, what Sort of Bill your Lordships desire to have passed; and because the laying of a high Duty upon the Still-head, with a small Duty upon Licences, and severe Penalties upon

A selling without a Licence, is the only effectual Remedy for the Evil; from whence, I hope, some publick-spirited Gentleman of the other House will be taught and encouraged, either this Session or the next, to move for and bring in such a Bill. B For this, which is a very sufficient Reason, I am for your going thro' and amending the Bill in a Committee; but as there is no Occasion for our being in any great Hurry, because from the Fate of this Day the other House will see, they must not expect this as a Supply Bill, and may consequently resolve immediately to provide by some other Method for the Supply: I say, as we have not, for this Reason, any Occasion to be in a Hurry, and as I am convinced, the more you examine into this Matter, the more you will be inclined to comply with what I propose, therefore I shall be for resuming the House, and putting off the Committee for a Week, that you may have an Opportunity to examine all such Persons as have been mentioned in this Debate, and also such others as may hereafter be thought capable of giving you any Information.

As to this, my Lords, whatever the noble Lord who spoke last may think, I must be of Opinion, that F it will be absolutely necessary to examine some of the Distillers and Retailers, not only to know the Effect of the small additional Duty now proposed, but to determine what additional Duty may be proper for putting this Liquor so much out of the Reach of the Poor, as to prevent their drinking it to Excess, without doing a greater Prejudice than necessary to our home Distillery.



Distillery. And here I must say, I am surprised, that the noble Lord who spoke last, could not distinguish between the Necessaries and the Luxuries of Life. When you lay any Tax upon the former, the Manufacturer or Retailer will certainly lay another Tax upon the Consumer, by raising the Price at least to double the Duty; but when you lay any Tax upon the latter, both the Manufacturer and Retailer will chuse, and will certainly resolve to sell at a less Profit, because, the least heightening of the Price would certainly diminish, and might put an entire Stop to the Consumption, which would, without Doubt, be the Consequence with respect to home-made Spirits, if they could be sold no cheaper than true *French Brandy*, or old *Jamaica Rum*. From whence your Lordships must see, how necessary it is for you to have the Distillers and Retailers examined upon this Occasion, and therefore, I hope, you will agree to the noble Lord's Motion.

*The next that spoke was M. Agrippa, in the Character of the Lord Carteret, whose Speech was to this Effect.*

*My Lords,*

I Have heard, I have had a Share in many Debates in this House, and have often heard the Subject of the Debate very much mistaken, or very much departed from, but never more than in our present Debate. The Evils arising from the excessive Use of Spirituous Liquors, and the Prevalence of that Vice at present, have been acknowledged by every Lord who have spoke in Favour of this Bill. What Occasion is there

then for long Declamations against those Evils, or against its being the prevailing Vice amongst the Poor of this Age? What Occasion have we for a tedious Examination of a great Cloud of Witnesses, to prove Facts which are upon all Sides acknowledged to be true, which were in the other House the principal Inducements for bringing in and passing this Bill; and which, certainly, ought to be prevailing Motives with us for concurring with them in so salutary a Measure as the Bill now under our Consideration.

On both Sides, my Lords, it has been likewise acknowledged, that the Laws in being are not sufficient for putting a Stop to those Evils, much less for putting an End to them. Nay, it has been acknowledged, that it is impossible to prevent entirely the excessive Use, and much less the Use of Spirituous Liquors; and if either is to be done, the noble Duke who spoke last has admitted, that a Duty upon the Still-Head, and preventing their being sold without a Licence, are the proper Methods to be taken for doing it effectually. These are the very Methods proposed by this Bill; but say its Opposers, the Duties proposed are not high enough: The Distillers and Retailers will bear the whole Burden of the Duties, consequently, the Liquors will be sold to the Consumer as cheap as ever; and the free Access they are by this Bill to get to them, will increase instead of diminishing the Evil.

[This SPEECH to be concluded, and JOURNAL continued in our Magazine for January.]

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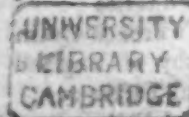


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